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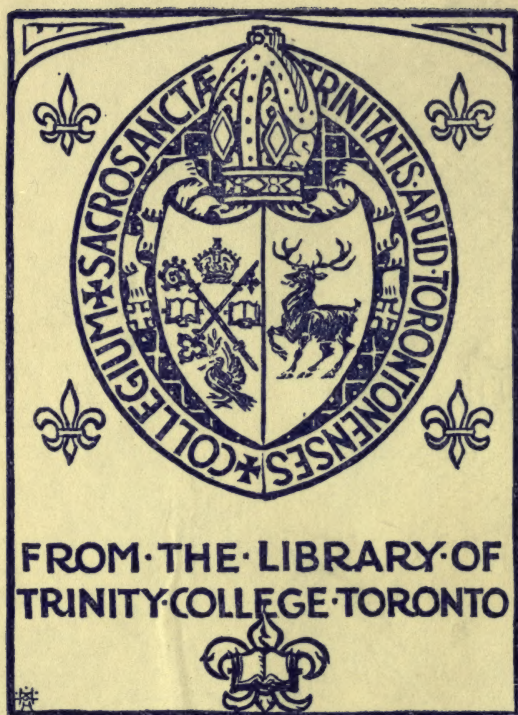
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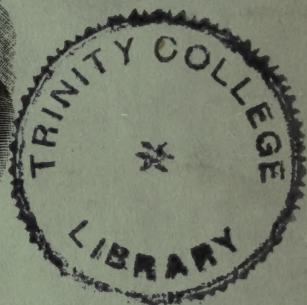


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THE
Orford Movement.

BY
J. B. MILBURN.



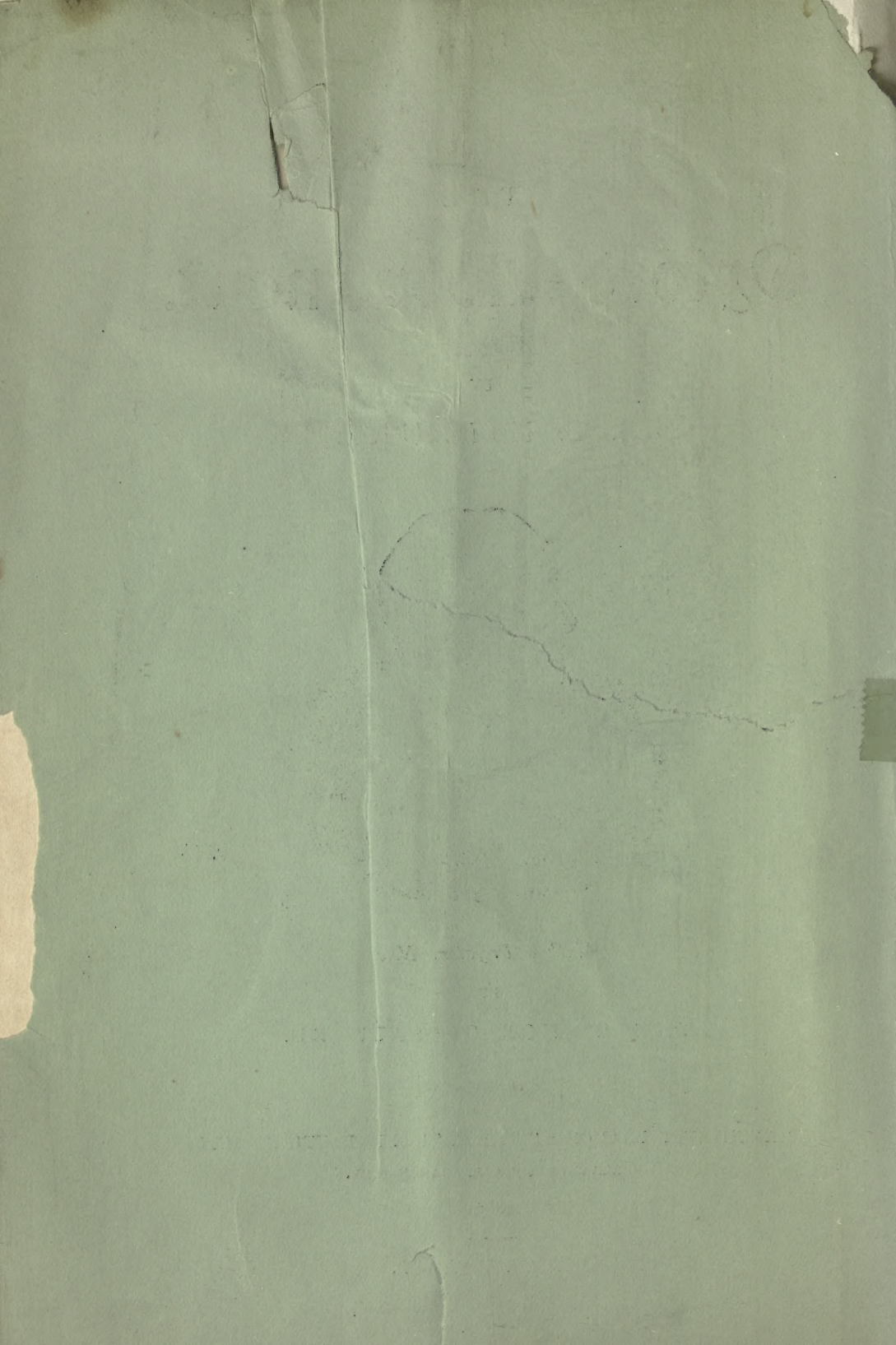
With a Prefatory Note

BY
THE BISHOP OF SALFORD.

MANCHESTER BRANCH OF THE CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY,
GROSVENOR SQUARE, MANCHESTER.

1895.

PRICE SIXPENCE.



Percy Douglas

THE
OXFORD MOVEMENT

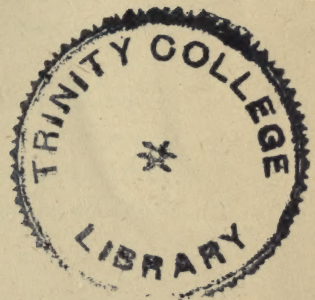
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PREFATORY NOTE.

HAVING had the pleasure of being the Chairman of the meeting of the Manchester Branch of the Catholic Truth Society at which the following essay was first read, I am now asked to introduce it to a larger audience on its appearance in print.

I willingly do so, in the confident hope that those who now read it will derive the same pleasure and profit from it as those to whom it was first addressed.

To many others, besides the readers of *The Ushaw Magazine*, the subject of which it treats must ever be one of absorbing interest. For the Oxford Movement was a brave and honest attempt on the part of her ablest and most loyal children to rescue the Anglican Church from the suspicion and taint of Erastianism, and to establish her claims to be the kingdom of Christ on earth. But the Anglican Church refused the proffered service, and drove out of her communion those of her sons who wished to render it.

The history of the Movement, then, especially when so graphically sketched as in Mr. Milburn's pages, cannot fail to be most helpful and instructive, not only to Catholics who have the Truth, but also to those who, under the guidance of God's grace, are seeking for it.

✠ JOHN, BISHOP OF SALFORD.

March 4th, 1895.



THE OXFORD MOVEMENT.

IT is no less a duty than a pleasure to study the needs and tendencies of our own times. We have all of us, especially the educated, duties towards our fellow-men which cannot be adequately or effectively fulfilled without an intelligent appreciation of the position of those whom we desire to assist. This demand presses with special insistence upon English Catholics at the present day. Time was, as many yet living can remember, when Catholic doctrines and practices were the butt of every buffoon, and a fertile subject for the ridicule even of the learned. Now, however, in spite of lingering bigotry, the general attitude of our countrymen towards the Church is changed. Not only are long repudiated Catholic dogmas held and taught, and Catholic ritual revived, within the pale of Anglicanism, but vague yearnings have arisen, and even ten-

* The present paper, with a few necessary alterations, was read before the Manchester Branch of the Catholic Truth Society, on April 17th, 1894, His Lordship the Bishop of Salford occupying the chair. A strong wish for it to appear in more permanent form was expressed by those who heard it delivered. Accordingly, a place was found for it in the pages of *The Ushaw Magazine* for March, 1895, from which, by the courteous concurrence of the Editors, the present reprint is made. It is hoped that it will be a not unwelcome addition to the already extensive literature of the subject, as a short but comprehensive view of the Movement, the history of which, with the exception of Dean Church's noble volume, still lies scattered through the several biographies, reminiscences, and works of the leaders.

tative efforts have been made, to bring about reunion with Rome.

There can be little doubt that the most important factor in the production of this salutary change in the religious attitude of Protestant England is what is known as the Oxford Movement. The Oxford Movement is a compendious title for a movement in religious thought which began in Oxford in the early part of this century, and which there developed into an attempt to raise the Church of England from the state of indifference into which she had fallen, to rid her of State control, and to elevate her from being a mere department of Government to an ideal position as a part of the Church Catholic. The Movement is also known as the Tractarian Movement, Tractarianism, the Puseyite Movement, etc. It may be said to have been almost independent of Catholic influence. It had no connexion with Emancipation. Its originators had even been the opponents of Catholic relief. Catholic as were many of the conclusions and results of the Movement, it undoubtedly took its rise in the National Church, where the legacy of hate was greatest, in the mid-stream of the anti-Catholic tradition that had flowed so full and strong since the days of Elizabeth. In relating the history of this great Movement, we shall treat, as briefly as is consistent with clearness, the following points :

- I. The sources, remote and immediate, of the Movement.
- II. The events connected with its rise and progress.
- III. Its culmination, and its effects on religious thought and practice in England.

I.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that the Oxford Movement was a thing of mushroom growth, the mere creature of an hour, the vented spleen of men disappointed in their

ambition. To form anything like a true idea of its origin, it will be quite necessary to hark back over the years, and take a view, necessarily brief and cursory, of the state of religious thought in England from the period of the sixteenth century.

Religious divisions—controversy with Rome on the one hand and with the Puritans on the other—dependence on and subservience to the Crown, loss of ritual and reverence, and a lamentable lowering of the *personale* of the clergy were the immediate and acknowledged results of the re-establishment of the Reformation in England under Elizabeth. As the prince was to be responsible for his people, body and soul, the Church, as well as the State, was placed under his complete control: the king or queen was the supreme head on earth of the Church in these realms. This was plain Erastianism. But the Royal authority was rejected as soon as it was declared. Those who had been exiled, or who had fled during the reign of Mary, had now returned from the Continent, imbued with the principles of Calvin—believing in individual infallibility, scorning interference from prince or prelate, and ever separating into sect after sect, which Governments vainly attempted to reduce even to outward uniformity. The churches were deserted and fell out of repair. High pews screened the self-willed worshippers from the dangers of attention to ritual; the altar-table and the font were used as convenient receptacles for hats and coats. Archbishop Laud, out of a deep sense of duty, strove in vain to impose the discipline of the Church as contained in the Prayer Book. His action roused a storm of indignant opposition. During the civil war the kingdom became for a time the paradise of fanatics, who, with “surly hymn” and open Bible, in which they found precedents for revenge, destroyed all the externals of worship that savoured to them of the abominations of idolatry. The Restoration followed, and with it the re-establishment of the Church. In the heat of the reaction against the principles of the Revolution, passive obedience to the king as

the head of the Church was held and taught. Among the higher clergy were many men of high learning and genuine piety, whose writings breathed much of the spirit of the early Fathers. This high ideal—too high for a sordid Minister of corruption—was, on the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty, combatted by Walpole, who succeeded in demeaning the Church to a mere department of the State, without devotion or doctrine.

The old school of divines passed away, and with them almost all sensitiveness to dogmatic truth. As the spirit of indifference deepened, much of the old bitterness departed from the unequal controversy between the supreme Protestant and the down-trodden Catholic. Thus, in the eighteenth century, the essential and predominating influence of the prevailing religion came to be mere external morality, as opposed to dogma and devotion. Natural religion, said the sceptic of the day, was sufficient; and the only reply of the divine was, that Christianity was little more than natural religion, accredited by historic proofs, and enforced by rewards and punishments. Sobriety, moderation, and good sense were the cardinal virtues; the Trinity and a vague acknowledgment of the Gospel, the belief of the day; whilst appeals to enthusiasm or devotion were regarded with disfavour, as smacking of reprehensible ostentation or of the absurdities of Rome. Of scepticism there was plenty, but without the plausibility of the scepticism of to-day. Physical science was little known, evolution had not been thought of, and even critical history was in its infancy. The Universities were lax. The old theological literature, now so completely out of harmony with the thought of the time, was well-nigh neglected. The growing repugnance to articles of faith was manifest in the latitude allowed in the interpretation of the Thirty-nine Articles. The Church proclaimed her own liability to err, and so could not, with any consistency, insist on any particular interpretation of them. She had become the prey of the Whig Party as then

constituted, the humble recipient of Hanoverian patronage, sunk in listless indifference. The clerical calling had come to be regarded as the privilege of its owner, a convenient mode of provision for younger sons, rather than as the sacred and responsible duty of the cure of souls. A sleepy service in a damp or dirty church, church-going as a mark and guarantee of respectability, honourable, simple domestic life—these formed the sum of the religious ideal.

It was against this supine indifference that John Wesley and his followers raised their protest. Wesley belonged to a society at Oxford which met between the years 1729—1735 for mutual religious improvement, and which earned the nickname of "The Methodists." He had imbibed the Moravian doctrine of sensible conversion, and to the severest puritanical asceticism united boundless external devotion. His hope was to reform the Church from within. But the Church, as a body, would not be wakened or warmed. However, his simple services and stirring appeals pierced where the cold formalism of the Church had been unable to reach. Piety was roused and inflamed in the individual, but Church life was untouched. A similar work was carried on by the Evangelicals. Methodist and Evangelical were both hated, not so much for their faults and weaknesses as for their piety. The Church would not recognise her own children, and the movement ended in schism.

The opening of the present century was marked by great intellectual activity, roused by the discoveries of physical science, and bearing the impress of a deep seriousness occasioned by the shocks and horrors of the French Revolution. First, there was the movement of the awakened intellect started by Bentham and the two Mills; who, in the reaction against the tyrannies of the past, and in their efforts to make utilitarianism the supreme, if not the only, standard of things, endeavoured to sweep away the inherent sacredness of constituted authority by the adoption of manhood suffrage and the

severance of Church and State. Secondly, came Dr. Arnold and Dr. Whately, who, in similar anxiety to safeguard the community, proposed the sinking of minor differences between Dissenters and the Establishment, and the binding of the Church and State still closer together. Arnold held religious formalism in contempt; he disregarded dogma as such, and was totally opposed to priesthood and a sacramental system. In the same wave of anxiety for the safety of the Church arose a third movement, which took its rise in Oxford, the movement which is the subject of this paper. It parted company with Arnold at the outset. Arnold thought that the danger lay in the severance of Church and State. The first principle of the Oxford Movement was that the Church was altogether divine, and so independent of the State. As we have seen, the idea of clerical life had certainly sunk both in fact and in popular estimation. Anything like dogmatic principles, enthusiasm, or devotion was avoided. Indifference and *laissez-faire*, then, were the enemies to be combatted.

II.

Some idea of the importance of definite teaching had been revived by the lectures of Dr. Charles Lloyd, who was Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford in 1825. He had been intimate with several French refugee priests, from whom he had gained such knowledge of Catholic faith and practice as led him, in his lectures, to discuss the Council of Trent, and to illustrate the Book of Common Prayer by reference to the Roman Missal and Breviary, from which he showed it to be, in the main, compiled.

This teaching, doubtless, prepared a circle of appreciative readers for a book of poems for the Sundays and principal feasts of the ecclesiastical year, which appeared in 1827, at a time when religious controversy was still unsuspected. By it were circulated and recommended, in the most attractive and

penetrating form, sentiments that had long been lost sight of, or nourished only in private. It was the work of John Keble, a man descended from and reared in the traditions of the seventeenth century divines—"a deeply convinced Churchman, who found his standard and pattern of devotion in the sober earnestness and dignity of the Prayer Book; and who, disliking Evangelical Christianity, as combining the questionable features of Methodism and Calvinism, denounced everything that deviated from the Prayer Book" (Dean Church). He found the Church gradually sinking, with no admixture of leaven from above to lighten her heaviness, no stately rites to brighten, no offices to redeem her dulness; standing like a tombstone in dreary isolation, with the damp and mould of the world settling upon her. At a time when English religious literature was "nerveless and impotent . . . Keble struck an original note, and woke up in the hearts of thousands a new music, the music of a school long unknown in England" ("Apologia," p. 18). The author of "The Christian Year" stated in his Preface: "Next to a sound rule of faith, there is nothing of so much consequence as a sober standard of feeling in matters of practical religion; and the Church of England has in her recognised formularies ample and secure provision for both." The work revived the sacramental system, and the living power of faith and love in assisting the acceptance of religious truth. Free from the fashionable anti-Catholic phraseology, the poems bade the Anglican Church "speak gently of her sister's fall"; they proclaimed the board on two trestles to be the "dread altar"; and in the teeth of zealots against idolatry, saluted the Virgin Mary as "Ave Maria, thou whose name, all but adoring love may claim!" The book wrought a great work in the Establishment. Principles were insinuated and a spirit infused which prepared the way for the teaching that followed. Cardinal Newman thus describes its effects: "Keble's poems became a sort of comment on (the Church's) formularies and ordinances, and almost elevated them into the dignity of a

religious system. It ("The Christian Year") kindled hearts towards his Church; it gave something for the gentle and forlorn to cling to; it raised up advocates for it among those who otherwise, if God and their good angel had suffered it, might have wandered away into some sort of philosophy and acknowledged no Church at all. . . . Much certainly came of "The Christian Year"; it was the most soothing, the most tranquillising, subduing work of the day. . . . Keble's happy magic made the Anglican Church seem what Catholicism was and is" ("Critical Essays," Vol. II., p. 443, etc.).

Keble was the rector of a country parish, and had written his poems at intervals, with no thought of publication. Associated with him and influenced by him, but with more courage and more aggressiveness, was Richard Hurrell Froude, who, after being his private pupil, returned to Oxford as tutor at Oriel College in 1827. Here Froude became acquainted with another tutor, a zealous man who was endeavouring to raise the standard of thought and conduct of his pupils, who was now beginning to gain upon them and "to have influence which continued for a course of years," thus forming, all unconsciously to himself, the nucleus of a party ("Apologia," p. 16). This was no other than Mr. John Henry Newman, the future Cardinal, who was then moving out of the shadow of the Liberal religious principles instilled into him by Dr. Whately and others. In 1828 Froude, writing to Keble, said of Newman: "Newman is a fellow that I like the more, the more I think of him; only I would give a few odd pence if he were not a heretic." It was through Froude that Newman came to know Keble in 1828. Keble had been shy of Newman for years, owing to the traces which the Evangelical and Liberal schools had left upon him. Froude was proud of his success, and wrote: "If I was asked what good I have done, I should say I had brought Keble and Newman together."

The ideas of Keble, gentle and retiring as he was, were a

decided protest against the loose unreality of the ordinary religious system of the day. Froude, with his keenness, originality, and fearless dash, made those ideas active, public, aggressive. Keble had supplied the inspiration; Froude gave the impulse; and Newman took up the work. Henceforward, the impulse and the direction of its working were his. From December, 1832, to April, 1833, Newman and Froude were travelling for their health in the Mediterranean. All the time Newman seems to have been oppressed with the conviction of a great work looming over him in the near future—the restoration of her authority to the Church of England.

Feelings such as these, which had been gradually springing up in many minds, these awakenings to higher thoughts concerning the Church, were brought to a focus and forced into active work by the current events of the time. There had been the July Revolution in France in 1830; in 1831 the great Reform agitation had commenced in England; and in the February of 1833 Lord Stanley had introduced, and by July had carried, the Irish Temporalities Bill, which suppressed half the Irish Protestant Episcopate. A consolidation of some of the Welsh sees was also effected. This inroad of the secular power into the domain of the Church became a cause for alarm. "The vital question was," says Cardinal Newman, "how were we to keep the Church from being Liberalised? There was such apathy on the subject in some quarters, such imbecile alarm in others; the true principles of Churchmanship seemed so radically decayed, and there was such distraction in the ranks of the clergy. . . . I felt affection for my Church, but not tenderness; I felt dismay at her prospects, anger and scorn at her doing nothing perplexity. I thought that if Liberalism once got a footing within her, it was sure of the victory in the event by the authoritative introduction of Liberal opinions into the country" ("Apologia," pp. 30, 31, 37).

Something, therefore, had to be done. The first blow was

struck in the University pulpit by Mr. Keble, on July 14th, 1833, who preached the Assize sermon, which was published under the title of "The National Apostasy." It was delivered as a protest against the suppression of the Irish sees by the Government. Keble gave strong expression to the fear that, amid the general exultation over the winning of Reform, and in the restive impatience for reform all round, the new Government was preparing to invade the rights and alter the constitution of the Church. When a Christian Government and people threw off the restraint of Christ, it was, he said, nothing short of a direct disavowal of the sovereignty of God; and where such action was forced on the Legislature by public opinion, apostasy was the temper of the nation. Newman declares: "I have ever considered and kept the day as the start of the Religious Movement of 1833" ("Apologia," p. 35).

Several able and zealous men had united their counsels to meet the specific danger that was now threatening the national religion and its Church. The principal of these were Mr. Keble; Richard Hurrell Froude; Mr. William Palmer, of Dublin and Worcester College; Mr. Arthur Perceval; Mr. Hugh Rose, who already in 1832 had commenced *The British Magazine*; and Mr. J. H. Newman, of Oriel College, and Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford. The first outward and visible form which the Movement assumed was an "Association of the Friends of the Church"—"to maintain, pure and inviolate, the doctrines, the services, and the discipline of the Church." In order to concert a plan of action, Mr. Rose called a conference in July, at his Vicarage of Hadleigh, in Suffolk. At this Newman and Froude were not present; but they were in active correspondence and sympathy with its members. The idea of the Association, however, came to nothing. Newman had a horror of committees, and meetings, and great people in London. Something—writing of some sort—must be done. Above all, plain speaking was absolutely necessary, and that could scarcely be got by papers

put forward conjointly. What was wanted was that, within certain broad lines of agreement, each man should be able to write exactly as he felt. Newman therefore started, "out of his own head," a publication of leaflets known as the "Tracts for the Times." They were brief, clear, if somewhat stern, appeals to conscience and reason—very trumpet-calls to duty long undone. The first Tract, written by Newman, and addressed to the clergy, was published on September 9th, 1833. "Stir up," says he to the clergy, "the gift (of the priesthood) which is in you. Tell the many of your gift. The time will soon drive you to do this. Do not be compelled by the world's forsaking you to recur, as if unwillingly, to the high source of your authority. Exalt our holy fathers the Bishops, as the representatives of the Apostles, and the Angels of the Churches; and magnify your office, as being ordained by them. Abstinence from action is impossible in troublous times. 'He that is not with Me is against Me; and he that gathereth not with Me, scattereth'" (Tract 1).

Writing such as this, and such as appeared in the Tracts that followed, was, in those days, a novelty—partly audacious, partly unintelligible. A living idea had got hold of the authors, though they did not seem to know whither or how far it would lead them. Where the Scriptures seemed wanting in explicit statement, they supplemented what was lacking by the teaching and practice, first of the seventeenth century divines, and later, of the primitive Church. There was much tentativeness in their teaching. The evidence was doubtful, but still good enough for a working hypothesis. Thus the Movement was early "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought"—tinged with a kind of anxious venturesomeness that was foreign alike to the easy-going spirit of Anglicanism and the steady certainty of Catholicism. But work was entered upon with a will. Henceforward Newman's life, in the exuberance and joyous energy of health restored, after his voyage abroad, was one of active propagand-

ism. He called, as he tells us ("Apologia," p. 42), upon clergy in various parts of the country, attended at the houses of friends, wrote private letters to clergymen, and a series of letters to *The Record* newspaper. He had supreme confidence in his cause. "We were upholding," he writes, "that primitive Christianity which was delivered for all time by the early teachers of the Church, and which was registered and attested in the Anglican formularies and by the Anglican divines. That ancient religion had well-nigh faded out of the land through the political changes of the last hundred and fifty years, and it must be restored. It would be, in fact, a second Reformation—a better reformation, for it would be a return, not to the sixteenth century, but to the seventeenth century. . . . My behaviour had a mixture in it both of fierceness and of sport" ("Apologia," p. 43).

The position taken up in the Tracts was based on two great Catholic principles, and on a third, which after fuller light was rejected. First was the great principle of dogma; "for the battle was with Liberalism, with the anti-dogmatic principle in all its developments." Secondly came the truth of a certain definite religious teaching, based upon this foundation of dogma, viz., "that there was a visible Church, with Sacraments and rites which are channels of invisible grace" ("Apologia," p. 49). The third principle was a reluctant protest against the corruptions of Rome—a protest made, as a matter of conscience, following the consensus of the Anglican divines, but still against the feelings of the protestors. They were like men forced to witness in court against their friends. However, so convinced were they of the substantial justice of the charges brought against Rome, that they had no thoughts of their other principles tending towards her. Indeed, one avowed object of the Tracts was to check the growth of Popery in England. "Nothing," wrote Newman in the Preface to the first volume of collected Tracts in 1843, "nothing but these doctrines, faithfully preached, will repress that extension of Popery, for which the

ever-multiplying divisions of the religious world are too clearly preparing the way."

But the Tracts were not the only way in which the Movement was making itself felt. Since 1828 Newman had been Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford, from the pulpit of which he was preaching a series of sermons in the endeavour to arouse and inspire the teachers of religion. These sermons were listened to by comparatively few, but read by thousands, and produced a response so deep that the Movement might never have continued, and certainly would never have been what it was, without them. (cf. Dean Church.) Already it was regarded with suspicion in some quarters, with disgust in others; branded as a party, with Newman the very forefront of it. He declares, however, that "he was not the person to take the lead of a party; that he had never the staidness or dignity necessary for a leader. . . . I had," he continues, "a lounging, free-and-easy way of carrying things on. I exercised no sufficient censorship on the Tracts" ("Apologia," pp. 58, 59).

These qualifications were, however, furnished in the eyes of the world by one who had hitherto remained in the background, quietly giving his approval and advice in emergencies, supplying a Tract on Fasting, and who now joined the Movement—Dr. Pusey, Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University. He was a man of great learning and piety, a Canon of Christ Church, and "a man of vast influence in consequence of his deep religious seriousness, the munificence of his charities, his Professorship, his high family connexions, and his easy relations with the University authorities" ("Apologia," p. 61). He became, as it were, the official chief of the party, a guarantee for its saneness and steadiness, and thus gained for it a recognition from other parties in the University. He was a man of large designs, hopeful, fearless, and haunted by no intellectual perplexities. His influence was felt at once. He saw the need for more sobriety, more gravity, more method, more pains, more sense of responsibility in the

Tracts, and in the whole conduct of the Movement, if it was to touch success. The Tracts had hitherto been simple leaflets; they now grew into sustained argumentative treatises, supported by quotations of authorities, and backed by the publication of a Library of the Fathers.

The need of position and influence for the working out of the Movement was soon shown. In 1834, Dr. Hampden, a man of cold and serious religion, desiring to separate the paramount authority of the Scriptures from the derived authority of the creeds and formularies which re-stated and summed up the doctrines of the Scriptures, but with no thought of innovation, proposed the abolition of the test of submission to the Thirty-nine Articles for matriculation. The active opposition of the party of the Movement was successful in procuring the rejection of this proposal; but in the following year, to the dismay and in spite of the party, he was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity.

In spite of this rebuff, however, the party continued active and confident. Newman was ever busy—inconstant in correspondence, accessible to, and patient with all who came in earnestness to him; he read, translated, and lectured; he kept journals and lists of his followers. Tract followed Tract merrily enough; but gradually, as deeper study of the Fathers in support of the position of the Movement was made, his fervid cocksy confidence on one point began to fail, and a feeling of doubt came over him concerning his attitude towards Rome. This was only increased by the influence of Hurrell Froude, who about this time (1835) was writing to him in this sense: "I am more and more indignant at the Protestant doctrine of the Eucharist. . . . I can see no claim which the Prayer Book has on a layman's deference as the teaching of the Church, which the Breviary and Missal have not in a far greater degree. . . . I must enter another protest against your cursing and swearing against Rome. How mistaken we ourselves may be on many points that are only gradually opening upon us!"

In defence of their system, the writers of the Tracts boldly appealed to the theology of Catholic antiquity, basing their arguments on the unproved assumption that the Established Church was identical, in all essential particulars, with the old Church of the country, and in communion with the Church Universal. Fasting, abstinence, confession, economy in the dissemination of religious truth, the doctrine of Apostolical succession, etc., were revived and practised. This teaching was at first received by those in authority with a lofty and contemptuous indifference. One Bishop, on reading the Tract upon Apostolical Succession, is said not to have been able to make up his mind whether he held it or not. Gradually, however, as the Movement progressed, contempt passed into helpless and passionate hostility. True, a stick was always ready—what was put forward as Catholic could always be dubbed and belaboured as Romish. Thus, those who might have directed and controlled the course of the Movement simply ignored or discredited it. In fact, the Bishops were in a dilemma. The Tracts exalted them and their office; yet, if they favoured the authors, they would offend the Evangelicals: and so, contenting themselves with little sarcasms, or superior worldly-wise predictions on the one hand, and messages of approval and kindly cautions in private conversation or correspondence on the other, they waited, Micawber-like, for something to turn up. Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, declared (1836): “The Movement will not take the form Newman wishes, but its far more natural and consistent form of pure Popery” (Life, Vol. II., p. 60). The English Church was not accustomed to bold, clear statements of definite teaching, and chafed accordingly. As Newman said: “In the present day, mistiness is the mother of wisdom. A man who never enunciates a truth without guarding himself against being supposed to exclude its contradictory—who holds that the Scripture is the only authority, yet that the Church is to be deferred to . . . this is your safe man, and the hope of the Church”

("The State of Religious Parties," *British Critic*, April, 1839).

The party had a double task to perform. They had to controvert the ultra-Protestantism of their own Church on the one hand, and Romanism on the other. They were thus driven to fortify their teaching that there was a Universal Church, of which the Church of England was a part, by tracing against rival claimants their doctrines in genuine descent from antiquity. Whilst the ship of the Movement forged ahead, Newman, like an anxious pilot, stood at the helm, having the lead constantly cast and soundings taken, endeavouring to steer a middle course, safe alike from the dangerous depths of Rome and the shallows of Protestantism. If Rome was acknowledged to be a Church, her rival claims to allegiance must be answered. From the conception of a Universal Church, Newman had passed to a reluctant doubt of the lawfulness of separation from her. In Tract 71 he declared, "the controversy with the Romanists has overtaken us like a summer cloud." He was in deep uncertainty, exclaiming :

"How shall I name thee—Light of the wide West,
Or heinous error-seat?"

Rome, in his eyes, was great, but great with the greatness of Antichrist—in England an intruder and a disturber; and objectionable by her claim to infallibility, which overrode the consent of the Fathers, and was at variance with the conditions of the human reception of knowledge. The Liberalism and indifference of the day could not be combatted by mere negatives. A "positive Church theory, erected on a definite basis, was essential"; a true and intelligible mean between extremes must be found. He therefore sought to strike a middle course, a *via media* between Protestantism and Rome, based upon Bishop Butler's theory that there was in the historic Church a true authority, varying in degrees—supreme and trustworthy on fundamental points, clear and weighty on others. Of course,

such a system, viewed as a system, was a mere figment, a paper theory, the wild fancy of a road over mountains and rivers which had never been cut. Between Rome and Protestantism there might be an ideal halting-place; but there was no logical, no actual, no practical one. This was clear to those outside, and to many inside the Movement. And so a new current of thought and action began to manifest itself—a movement within the Movement. Mr. Palmer, Mr. Keble, Dr. Hook, and Dr. Pusey were left behind. Newman was hesitating; his mind, which had hitherto rested on antiquity as its authority, received a severe shock in 1839 whilst he was studying the Monophysite heresy, which denied the human nature of Christ, and leaned for support on the emperor of the day. He saw there an awful similitude between the dead records of the fifth century and the feverish chronicle of the nineteenth. His “Church of the *Via Media* was in the position of the Oriental Communion; Rome was where she now is” (“Apologia,” p. 114). In defending the *Via Media* he found himself forging arguments for Arius and Eutyches.

A second shock came upon him from the reading of Dr. Wiseman’s article on the Donatist heretics in the *Dublin Review*, which had been started in 1836 with a special view to directing the course of the Movement. The article showed how the schismatic Donatists were confronted by St. Augustine with the words *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*. “Unerring is the witness and the sentence of the world-wide Church.” On this principle, antiquity was not the rule of faith. Nay, more, St. Augustine was one of the prime oracles of antiquity. “Here, then,” wrote Newman, “was antiquity deciding against itself. . . . The theory of the *Via Media* was absolutely pulverised by those great words of the ancient Father” (“Apologia,” p. 117). He who has seen a ghost cannot be as if he had never seen it; and these words had been as a shadow of a hand upon the wall to Newman.

It was now difficult for him, therefore, to give an effective answer to the new party in the Movement which was fast leaving him behind. This forward party was largely composed of men who heard his familiar conversation, and who came to him, perhaps, for the express purpose of pumping him, and obtaining a categorical Yes or No to their awkward questions. They detested the Reformation, abhorred Protestant doctrine, and hurling aside all ideas of balancing or compromise, looked and boldly made towards Rome. Such a course was undoubtedly damaging to the Movement, and a justification of the charge of Romanism brought against it from the beginning. Pusey, Keble, Williams, and others were unaffected either by this Romeward tendency or by Newman's apprehensions. Viewing ecclesiastical history as a whole, they believed in a grand Imperial Church, the flaws in which were overwhelmed and rendered of no account. Newman was gravely apprehensive because he could find no theory which reconciled his convictions and his fears. Facts of history were against the National Church being Catholic, and against the Roman Church being infallible: there was enough in the English Church to keep him where he was, and enough in the Roman to scare him away. Not so with the forward party, the Romanising section; or, if I may use the term, the awkward squad of the party, which Newman freely confessed and lamented, needed to be kept in order ("Apologia," p. 99). These men, "too young to be wise, too generous to be cautious, too warm to be sober, too intellectual to be humble," were difficult to handle; they talked loudly and strangely, as some of every party do; "did odd and fierce things, made unnecessary display, and so disgusted other people." First and foremost among these was Mr. W. G. Ward; a vigorous thinker, a heavy but trenchant writer, who fearlessly pursued premisses to their logical conclusion, who detested the Reformation, and revelled in the gaudiest ostentations of Continental piety. He delighted in loud, bare, logical

statements that struck others with dismay; and whilst an ardent and loyal disciple of Newman, under whose influence he had been brought by the sermons at St. Mary's, he was none the less a thorn in his side, and, in fact, the *enfant terrible* of the party.

To such as these, subscription of the Thirty-nine Articles was a difficulty. Some had signed, relying on the word and example of Newman. Others failed to see how belief in the Roman doctrine they had accepted was compatible with subscription. Newman had been enjoined by his Bishop to keep these men straight; and, accordingly, in obedience to this injunction, and, at the same time, to answer the question of those who asked, "How will you manage to sign the Articles? they are directly against Rome?" he set about, in 1841, a long contemplated task—a comment on the Articles. He shared none of the apprehensions of those who threw the Articles in his face—his motive and object was simply to quiet "the restlessness, actual and prospective, of those who neither liked the *Via Media*, nor his own strong judgment against Rome." ("Apologia," p. 78). This declaration of Newman's is borne out by a saying of the late Archbishop Tait, that Ward "*worried*" Newman into writing Tract 90—the now historical Tract in which Newman supplied a comment on the Thirty-nine Articles, in order to show that the English Church had never really authoritatively committed herself against the ancient and Catholic doctrines held by himself and his party.

Tract 90 of the "Tracts for the Times" was published on February 27th, 1841, under the title "Remarks on Certain Passages of the Thirty-nine Articles." Having regard to the history of the Articles, the state of religious parties at the time, the looseness of wording and incompleteness of statement of the Articles themselves, and the want of agreement among their framers, which precluded them from supplying an authoritative explanation of their own words, the Tract was an attempt

to show that the Articles did not touch the doctrines advocated by the Movement. It consists of an Introduction, explaining the need of union of belief in order to attain unity of action. Then follow twelve sections upon those of the Thirty-nine Articles which trench upon the teaching of Rome—The Scriptures and the Authority of the Church ; Justification by Faith only ; Works before and after Justification ; the Visible Church ; General Councils ; Purgatory, Pardons, Images, Relics, Invocation of Saints ; the Sacraments ; Transubstantiation ; Masses ; Marriage of the Clergy ; the Homilies ; The Bishop of Rome. These, and a weighty Conclusion, are all treated in a pamphlet of eighty-three pages. The language is dry and curt. No positive argument is put forward. It is rather a paring down of loose language, treating the Articles as a mere legal document, the legal obligation of which is the measure of the moral. Taken broadly and generally as what superficially they are—a condemnation of an antagonistic system—the Articles present no difficulty ; but considered as a scientific enunciation of doctrine, they at once bristle with difficulties, and should, therefore, be interpreted with considerable latitude. This view is justified by Mr. Lecky, who states that as the Church of England was a National Church, it was for that very reason intended to be representative, and to include the various forms of belief in the country. And so the Prayer Book was a compromise, full of intentional ambiguities of expression ; and consequently, the widest and most comprehensive interpretation, consistent with honesty, is most in harmony with the spirit of the founders of the National Church ("History of England in the Eighteenth Century," Vol. II., p. 541).

It was with this idea before him that Newman entered upon his task, which he stated to be "to show that, while our Prayer Book is acknowledged on all hands to be of Catholic origin, our Articles also, the offspring of an un-Catholic age, are, through God's good Providence, to say the least, not un-Catholic, and

may be subscribed by those who aim at being Catholic in heart and doctrine" (Introduction to Tract). He started by distinguishing Roman doctrine into three classes.

1. The Catholic teaching of the early centuries.
2. The formal dogmas of Rome in later Councils and in Trent.
3. The actual popular beliefs and usages sanctioned by Rome, which he called dominant errors.

On this distinction he maintained that by the Articles Catholic teaching was not condemned; that the dominant errors were; and that of the formal dogmas some were, and some were not. In other words, he sought to show that all which was, as he thought, clearly and undoubtedly Catholic, was left untouched by the Articles; that as the Articles were drawn up whilst the Council of Trent was still sitting, and before its decrees were promulgated, the Articles were not directed against its formal definitions; and further, taking into account the language of the Homilies, and that used by the Convocation of 1571, which enforced the Articles, that the authority which imposed the Articles was clearly more Catholic than the framers of them, and evidently jealous of any attempt to break with Catholic antiquity. Against what, then, in Newman's opinion, were the Articles directed? Against the dominant errors and some of the formal dogmas of Rome; against the abuses and perversions of a great popular and authorised system. He had also another object in his inquiry, and that was to ascertain the ultimate points of contrariety between the Roman and Anglican creeds, to see how far the text of the Articles might be opened. Here, again, he employed distinctions. He showed, for example, that "the use of prayers for the dead was a Catholic doctrine not condemned by the Articles; the prison of purgatory was a Roman dogma which was condemned; the fire of purgatory, an authorised popular error, not a dogma, which was condemned" ("Apologia," p. 78).

Perhaps a specimen of Newman's method will give a better idea of this famous Tract. The 11th Article says: "That we are justified by Faith only is a most wholesome doctrine." The Homilies, comments Newman, add that faith is the *sole* means, the sole instrumental means. Thus, he argues, faith is the sole justifier; not in contrast to all means and agencies whatever (for it is not surely in contrast to Our Lord's merits or God's mercy), but in contrast to all other graces. Faith is the sole internal instrument. Faith justifies in one sense, good works in another; and this is all that is maintained. Faith only justifies in the sense that it is the pleading or impetrating principle, or that which constitutes a title to justification. Men are justified by Christ alone, in that He has purchased the gift; by faith alone, in that faith asks for it; by baptism alone, for baptism conveys it; by newness of heart alone, for newness of heart is the life of it.

In the conclusion, Newman combats by anticipation the objection that such a line was anti-Protestant, on the plea that it is a duty to give the Articles the most Catholic sense they will bear, and so bring them into harmony with the Prayer Book.

As may be imagined, the Tract burst like a shell upon the world. It became the absorbing topic of the hour. The proposed method of interpretation of the Articles was denounced as false, dishonest, and immoral. The long-smouldering animosity towards the Movement now leaped into flame. Newman tells us that he was wholly unprepared for the storm of indignation and violence with which the Tract was received. On March 8th there appeared a letter, addressed to the editor of the Tracts, and signed by four Oxford College tutors—Churton, Wilson, Griffiths, Tait—denouncing the Tract as "having a tendency to mitigate beyond what charity requires, and to the prejudice of the pure truth of the Gospel, the very serious difference which separates the Church of Rome from our own; and to shake the confidence of less learned members of the Church of England in

the spiritual character of her formularies and teaching." Newman merely acknowledged the letter in his editorial capacity. The *Times*, remarking on it, hoped the tutors did not teach their pupils the sort of English they appeared to write. On the 16th of March a Resolution was formulated by the Hebdomadal Board—a meeting of the Heads of Houses—condemning the interpretation put forward by the Tract, as evading, rather than explaining the sense of the Articles, and so defeating the object of the University Statutes enjoining their subscription. Newman immediately wrote and acknowledged the authorship, assuming the sole responsibility for the Tract, and at the same time re-asserting the "truth and honesty of the principle maintained in the Tract, and the necessity of putting it forth."

To Dr. Jelf, Canon of Christ Church, he also wrote a famous letter of explanation, in which he controverted the accusations of dishonesty and of a leaning towards Rome. Rome, in his opinion, went very far towards substituting another Gospel for the true one, in putting St. Mary and the Saints forward as the prominent objects of regard and the dispensers of mercy. The present mischief arose from the fact that Tract 90 had been addressed to one set of persons and had been used by another. It was no feeler in a Romeward direction; his present letter was no re-tractation. His own strongly pledged position against Rome had made him altogether unsuspicious of any Romanising tendencies being attributed to him.

On March 28th Dr. Bagot, Bishop of Oxford, sent word to Newman to write him a letter of explanation "*instante*." The day following Newman obeyed, and agreed to discontinue the Tracts at his Bishop's wish, on the understanding that Tract 90 was not to be withdrawn or condemned ("Apologia," p. 128).

It will perhaps seem strange and uncalled-for, all this commotion over Tract 90; for, after all, the view taken in it was by no means new. Much of the language of the Homilies and of the

Protestant divines goes as far, if not farther. Such teaching, however, meant no harm and provoked no violence in the pages of a venerable folio ; but in the popular form of a modern Tract it was regarded as nothing short of perilous heresy. A paper war broke out over the Tract, and there was much able writing in its defence. Dr. Pusey upheld it, and Mr. W. G. Ward published two pamphlets in its favour, in which, whilst maintaining the honesty of the trunk line of its argument, he hailed it as proposing a sense not more non-natural than would have to be put upon the Prayer Book itself, if it were to be squared with the thought of the day. It did not go far enough, however, for Ward. He thought and declared that the Articles were un-Catholic, and therefore a difficulty, and that the English Church was a mere compromise between Catholicism and Protestantism. "Surely," he wrote to Dr. Pusey, "the rebellion of those sworn to obey is, by the very force of the terms, perjury. . . . The present position of our Church seems to me corrupt in every sense : . . . she would rather appear to be without the truth than to have perverted it ; the present position of our Church seems to have had its origin in rebellion, perjury, and the most shameless Erastianism." Ward anticipated the trouble to which he had rendered himself open by such a declaration by resigning his two professorships.

The initiation of proceedings against Tract 90 marked an epoch in the Movement. Up to this time it had not looked beyond the Church of England. But now that the doctrines of the party were shown to be uncongenial to the Church, and that the party itself was falling under high official ban and stigma, symptoms of a change began to be manifest. Henceforward the Movement was not what it had been. Tract 90, with Ward's comments, broke it. Newman's influence was gone when he had been posted up on the buttery-hatch of every College, and when he was being denounced as a traitor, who had laid his train and had been detected in the very act of firing it against

the time-honoured Establishment ("Apologia," p. 139). Yet he loved his Church, and had no intention of quitting her. He therefore sought quiet by retiring to his house at Littlemore.

Here his mind was still further shaken by three blows. In the summer of 1841, whilst studying the Arian heresy, the plan of the *Via Media* was again shattered in his hands: the shock of 1837 returned with still greater force. He saw clearly in the history of the Arian, as in that of the Monophysite heresy, that the pure Arians were the Protestants, the semi-Arians were the Anglicans, and that Rome now was what she was then: that the truth, then as now, lay, not with the *Via Media*, but with the extreme party.

A second blow came from the action of the Bishops. In spite of the understanding arrived at, the Bishops began, and continued for three whole years, to denounce the Tract in their charges. The Bishop of Chester had opened fire against the Movement generally as early as 1838, condemning it "as the work of Satan, an undermining of the foundations of our Protestant Church by men who dwell within her walls—those who sit in the Reformers' seat traducing the Reformation." "A revival of errors which might have been supposed buried for ever," wrote another of Tract 90. A third quoted the words of the Homily—"Let us diligently search the well of Life, and not run after the stinking puddle of tradition devised by man's imagination." Tractarianism was "the masterpiece of Satan"; nay, it was "Antichrist at the door." Perhaps there was some provocation for recrimination, especially when we consider the way in which the more ardent members of the Movement needlessly clutched and paraded certain subordinate points; but there is no gainsaying the fact that such a chorus of language, coming from the highest authority, unrestrained in tone as it was, gave unmistakeable evidence of the rejection of Tractarian doctrine by the Church, as alien to it, and inappropriate for its nourishment. The consequence was that the eyes of many, who had been disappointed

in their own Church, were now turned towards Rome. "Whatever," wrote Newman to a stranger in October, "whatever be the influence of the Tracts, great or small, they may become as powerful for Rome, if our Church refuses them, as they would be for the Church if she accepted them. . . . If this state of things goes on, I mournfully prophesy not one or two, but many secessions to the Church of Rome" ("Apologia," p. 140). Two years afterwards he could point to the truth of this, and say: "There were no converts to Rome till after the condemnation of Tract 90."

The third blow that fell upon Newman was the ill-starred affair of the Jerusalem Bishopric. It seems that Bunsen, the Prussian Minister, wished to pave the way for a recognition by the English Church of the newly-erected State Church of Prussia, and for a closer connexion between the two Churches. He therefore proposed a Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem, nominated alternately by England and Prussia, consecrated by English and Prussian Bishops, and exercising jurisdiction over English and Prussian subjects in Palestine. His proposition was hastily and incautiously accepted by Archbishop Howley and Bishop Blomfield of London; and a Bill incorporating it passed both Houses of Parliament in the October of 1841. To a thinking mind the purport of such an Act was plain and awful. Whilst the Bishops were denouncing Newman and others for approaching the Catholic Church under cover of the Articles, the same Bishops, in this affair of the Jerusalem Bishopric, were fraternising with Protestant bodies, and allowing them to place themselves under an Anglican Bishop, without any renunciation of their errors, and without any due regard to their reception of Baptism and Confirmation. Dr. Alexander, a converted Jew, was nominated to the new see, which was estimated to contain about a dozen Anglican Jews. Well might Newman declare that, as the Anglican Church was courting an intercommunion with Protestant Prussia and with the heresy of the Orientals, he

was led to entertain "the gravest suspicion, not that it would soon cease to be a Church, but that, since the sixteenth century, it had never been a Church all along" ("Apologia," p. 143).

From this time forward Newman was on his death-bed as far as his membership with the Anglican Church was concerned. It was a period of decline, with seasons of rallying and falling back, broken only by the importunities of friends and the relentless persecution of enemies. At the close of the year 1842 he removed permanently to the house he had built at Littlemore, which, on account of the accommodation provided in it, was reported to be a Monastery. He retired there, as he tells us, "as wounded brutes creep into some hole to die," as into a place where he might be at peace, and lead, with others who came to him, a higher and stricter form of life. He also resigned his editorship of the *British Critic*, and practically gave up all active place in the Movement. A new school—ardent, vigorous, combative, fearless—had arisen, and had cut into the original Movement at an angle; had fallen across its line of thought, which they were now turning in their own direction. However uncongenial their methods might be to Newman, his sympathies were certainly with their object and even with the direction in which they tended. He was looked up to and loved by them, and he had neither the heart nor the power to repel them. Led on by Ward and Mr. Oakeley, who at Margaret Street Chapel, London, was putting the principles of the Movement into practice, this new party denied Anglicanism the notes of a Church, and made no secret of their aim—the undoing of the Reformation and a restoration to Papal unity. "The degraded condition of our Protestant Church," as Ward described it in the *British Critic*, "with its vague, shadowy, indefinite creed—a creed which we dare not contemplate steadily lest it fade out of sight," was the object of severe denunciation. The true method of progress in religious knowledge was held to be by conscientious action, in the spirit of belief, upon such

religious principles as were in the hands of the individual. Such teaching, and the attempts to realise it externally by ritual and practice, and by appeals to feeling as well as to intellect, roused violent opposition; and some of the more moderate of the party had to suffer for the immoderation of their friends. When Mr. Keble vacated the Professorship of Poetry, Isaac Williams was canvassed for as his successor by the Tractarians; but the "No Popery" cry was raised, and he was defeated by Garbett, of Brasenose, by 921 votes to 623. The party also suffered another check from the Vice-Chancellor's suspension of Dr. Pusey from preaching in the University for two years, as having taught heresy in a sermon, delivered on May 24th, 1843, in which the Holy Eucharist was put forward as a comfort to the penitent. Rejected as Popery, the sermon was nothing more than a High Anglican pronouncement, full indeed of the Fathers, but strictly within Anglican limits (cf. Dean Church).

The feeling of dissatisfaction among the Heads of the University and in the Church was evident. They abused Rome and everything Romish, for they took it ill that any in the English Church should love her, or even regard her with complacency. The age was moving towards something, and that something the Church of Rome alone supplied ("Apologia," p. 167). It was not mere ritual, relics, or retirement from the world. It was something deeper. Those who had learned to doubt the English Church saw in Catholicity a strong, logical, consistent theory of religion—not of yesterday or to-day—comprehensive and profound, actually in full work, and fruitful in great results, in self-denial and self-devotion, surrender of home, and utter obedience for God's sake (Dean Church, chapter xvii.). Newman was accused of shuffling because he would not silence these men. He explained himself in a letter to Dr. Pusey, October 16th, 1842: "I do not know the limits of my own opinions. If Ward says that this or that is a development from

what I have said, I cannot say Yes or No. It is plausible, it may be true. . . . But it is a nuisance to me to be *forced* beyond what I can fairly accept" ("Apologia," p. 171).

In February, 1843, Newman performed an act which was certainly not that of a shuffler. He had in the past said hard things of Rome; he had described her as "a lost Church . . . heretical . . . spellbound by an evil spirit . . . in thralldom . . . substituting external rites for moral obedience." Now, "goaded by his conscience to eat a few dirty words of his," as he wrote to Mr. Hope-Scott, he published a formal retraction of all these hard sayings. In the autumn of the same year he took a still more significant step. Weighted by the responsibilities of his pastoral charge, doubting himself and yet unable to speak his full mind, and flouted with having been the cause of a conversion to Rome which he had, in reality, done all in his power to prevent, he resigned his living of St. Mary's, Oxford, on September 18th, and retired into lay communion. He felt that he could no longer remain in the service of the Anglican Church when such a breach of trust was laid at his door. He and many others were in "a hopeless way" ("Apologia," p. 213). His feelings may be gathered from a farewell sermon which he preached at Littlemore on the "Parting of Friends." He was experiencing at that moment more than the ordinary grief of bereavement. He was breaking with his mother—the mother whom he loved and whom he would fain have served with the loyal dutifulness of a son—but she would have none of him; she was casting him off, declaring him no son of hers.

"O my mother," he exclaims, addressing the Anglican Church, "whence is this unto thee that thou hast good things poured upon thee, and canst not keep them, and bearest children, yet darest not own them? Why hast thou not the skill to use their services, nor the heart to rejoice in their love? How is it that whatever is generous in purpose, and tender or

deep in devotion, thy flower and thy promise; falls from thy bosom, and finds no home within thine arms? Who hath put this note upon thee, to have a miscarrying womb and dry breasts, to be strange to thine own flesh, and thine eye cruel towards thy little one? Thine own offspring, the fruit of thy womb, who love thee and would toil for thee, thou dost gaze upon as though a portent, or thou dost loathe as an offence; at best thou dost but endure, as if they had no claim on thy patience and vigilance, to be rid of them as easily as thou mayest. Thou makest them stand all the day idle, as the very condition of thy bearing with them, or thou biddest them to be gone where they will be more welcome, or thou sellest them for naught to the stranger that passes by. And what wilt thou do in the end thereof?"

The sentiments of longing and regret, here so tenderly and pathetically expressed, were, meanwhile, being much more openly avowed in "The Lives of the English Saints," a series of which had been projected by Newman to make people "love their country better, to open upon us the duties and the hopes to which the Church is heir" ("Apologia," p. 324), and also as useful in "employing the minds of men who were in danger of running wild, bringing them from doctrine to history, and from speculation to fact" ("Apologia," p. 210). After editing the first two numbers, Newman retired from the editorship, allowing those Lives which were then in course of preparation to appear at the sole responsibility of their respective authors. He did not again want to put up "something the Bishops could aim at, and so compel him to what he detested, a compulsory move" ("Life of Hope-Scott," Vol. II., p. 35). A still more militant note than the Lives was sounded in the *British Critic* by Ward, Oakeley, and others. This rendered that periodical so distasteful, and such a fruitful cause of friction, that it, too, was discontinued in the autumn of 1843. In the last number Mr. Palmer had written a narrative of events connected with the

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Tracts, and had savagely denounced the Romeward tendency. Ward, no longer having any organ in which to publish a reply, set to work upon a pamphlet which rapidly grew to a cumbersome volume, written in the course of a few months, and published in June, 1844, with the title, "The Ideal of a Christian Church." The language and tone was that of an assailant. The object of all religion being personal sanctification, the Church should teach what is right, not only to believe, but to do ; she must supply the means of holiness. In this duty Ward declared the Church of England was miserably deficient—Rome alone satisfied the need. If, therefore, the shortcomings of the Anglican Church were to be remedied, there was only one way, and that by imitation of, and communion with Rome.

At first, this book caused less excitement, in London at least, than might have been expected. But gradually the force of its defiance was realised, and all thinking England was stirred. John Stuart Mill hailed it as a remarkable book ; Comte was specially pleased with its elimination of Protestantism from the field of serious religious philosophy, and its acceptance of the war being between Positivism and Catholicism. It was straightway attacked by the *Edinburgh Review*, and by Mr. Gladstone in the *Quarterly* for October. In December the Heads of Houses called upon Ward to retract six passages, torn from their context in the work. After three days allowed for consideration, he refused ; and accordingly, on January 23rd, 1845, Symons, the Vice-Chancellor, who had been opposed at his election by the Tractarians, gave notice that a proposal would be made for Ward's condemnation in the Convocation of February 13th. On January 25th it was further suggested that Tract 90 should also be condemned. The excitement aroused by this proposal was intense. Oxford was in a hubbub of talk. London was moved. It was a question of the condemnation of one who was revered as a guide by tens of thousands. Ward was defended by Mr. Keble and Dr. Moberly, who both wrote pamphlets in his favour ;

and was also supported in this instance by members of an opposite school of thought, Tait and Stanley, who, by the very wideness of their Liberalism or latitudinarianism, felt themselves compelled to resist the action of the Heads. Newman and Pusey held aloof; but when Newman was attacked, Pusey came forward in his defence, declaring that in his opinion Tract 90 had done a great work "in clearing the Thirty-nine Articles from the glosses which like barnacles had crusted them round." In a letter to Dr. Pusey on February 7th, Mr. Gladstone, in reference to the proposed condemnation of the Tract, said: "No one more bitterly deplores than I do the recent changes in the views of Mr. Newman; but I never felt anything more strongly than the proceedings now meditated at Oxford: it is enough to make the heart burst to witness them. They pass mere argument, and appear like the fruits of the judgment of God. . . . Indignation at this proposal to treat Mr. Newman worse than a dog really makes me mistrust my judgment" ("Life of Pusey," by Canon Liddon).

At last the great day arrived. On February 13th one thousand five hundred persons assembled at Oxford, in the Sheldonian Theatre, to witness and take part in the struggle. Ward spoke for more than an hour in his own defence. His speech, delivered by permission in English, was a powerful argumentative effort, but gave little evidence of regard for the predilections of his audience. His book, "The Ideal," was condemned by a majority of 777 votes to 386; and he himself was degraded by 596 to 511. The proposal for the condemnation of Tract 90 was then brought forward, but the motion was immediately and effectively stopped by an unusual exercise of the Proctorial veto. Mr. Guillemard, of Trinity College, and senior Proctor, prevented further proceedings by the words, "*Nobis procuratoribus non placet!*" For this, he and his colleague, Mr. Church, late Dean of St. Paul's, were thanked in an address drawn up by Mr. Gladstone.

III.

As may be imagined, these events gave rise to wide-

spread insecurity. The Movement had been defeated and rejected before the world. February 13th, 1845, was a crisis in many lives. Whilst hearts were thus failing, Newman was in retirement at Littlemore, maintaining a silence that was at once awful and ominous. He was busy clearing his own mind, reducing feelings and belief into downright conviction; writing his book on "The Development of Christian Doctrine," which sought to explain the principle by which primitive Christianity had grown and developed into the full body of belief and practice held by the Church of to-day. It was the agony, the closing scene of his death-bed to Protestantism. As he stood day by day writing at his desk, he grew thinner and thinner, we are told, till at last he dropped his pen in the full conviction that he must no longer delay his submission to the Church of Rome, under peril of sinning against light. Many had already preceded him in the step he had determined upon. After Ward's condemnation there had been a pause, like the lull that precedes a storm. Then, like the first big drops of a thunder-shower, the conversions to Rome commenced. Ward went, and Oakeley, and Faber, and Morris, and many more. On October 3rd Newman had his name removed from the books of his College and of the University, and wrote to Dr. Pusey: "Anything may happen to me now, any day" (Liddon). On the 6th he wrote the advertisement to his "History of Development," which he was sending forth unfinished to the world—leaving off the argument as soon as the light of conviction was clear and sure. On the 8th he wrote a simultaneous letter to a number of his friends, announcing his decision. The same day, shabbily dressed and amid pelting rain, Father Dominic the Passionist arrived, by invitation, at Littlemore, where, after a night spent in prayer, Newman was at last received into the arms of the mighty Mother, into the Communion of the undying Church!

Thus noiselessly did the event come to pass, which, whether we consider its importance as an isolated fact, or as the result of

what had gone before, and the determining cause of many of the conversions that followed, must certainly be pronounced to have been, "if not the providential end of the Movement, at any rate the symbol and measure of its true significance" (Canon Oakeley). The end was indeed come. The trusted captain, who so long as he thought there was a chance of saving the ship had held back his men, was now among the first to abandon the sinking vessel. The cry was now, "*Sauve qui peut !*" The change was not unexpected ; but the blow, when it did fall, fell, as usual, with stunning force. Keble called it a "thunderbolt." Dean Church heads the chapter in which he describes it—"The Catastrophe." Lord Beaconsfield, years afterwards, spoke of it as "a blow from which the Church of England was still reeling." In 1875, in his pamphlet on "Vaticanism," Mr. Gladstone wrote : "In my opinion, Dr. Newman's secession from the Church of England has never yet been estimated at anything like the full amount of its calamitous importance. . . . The ecclesiastical historian will, perhaps, hereafter judge that this secession was a much greater event even than the partial secession of John Wesley. I do not refer to its effect upon the mere balance of schools or parties in the Church : that is an inferior question. I refer to its effect upon positive belief, and the attitude and capacities of the religious mind of England. Of this, thirty years ago, he had the leadership ; an office and power from which none but himself could eject him. It has been his extraordinary, perhaps unexampled case, at a critical period, first to give the religious thought of his time and country the most powerful impulse which for a long time it had received from any individual, and then to be the main, though, without doubt, the involuntary cause of disorganising it in a manner as remarkable, and of breaking up its forces into a multitude of not only severed but conflicting bands" ("Vaticanism," pp. 10, 11).

"It is the intensest loss we could have had," wrote Dr. Pusey, in a letter of consolation to an imaginary friend, which appeared

in the *English Churchman* of October 16th, 1845. "It looks as if some good purposes for our Church had failed. . . . The first pang came to me years ago, when I had no other fear, but heard that he was prayed for by name in so many churches and Religious Houses on the Continent. . . . They who have won him know his value. . . . He has gone as a simple act of duty, with no view for himself, placing himself entirely in God's hands. . . . He seems to me not so much gone from us as transplanted into another part of the vineyard, where the full energies of his powerful mind can be employed as here they were not. . . . It is, perhaps, the greatest event which has happened since the communion of the Churches has been interrupted. . . . If anything could open their eyes to what is good in us, or soften in us any wrong prejudices against them, one would think it would be the presence of such a one, nurtured and grown to such ripeness in our Church, and now removed to theirs."

To us, looking back over the years, the truth of Pusey's words is plain. With Newman's conversion and departure from Oxford, the Oxford Movement, strictly so called, came to an end. It left Oxford; it ceased to be strongly and prominently academical; it poured itself abroad, and worked in weaker fashion throughout the country. Here, then, this paper might fitly close, but perhaps a brief summary of the effects of the Movement may be expected.

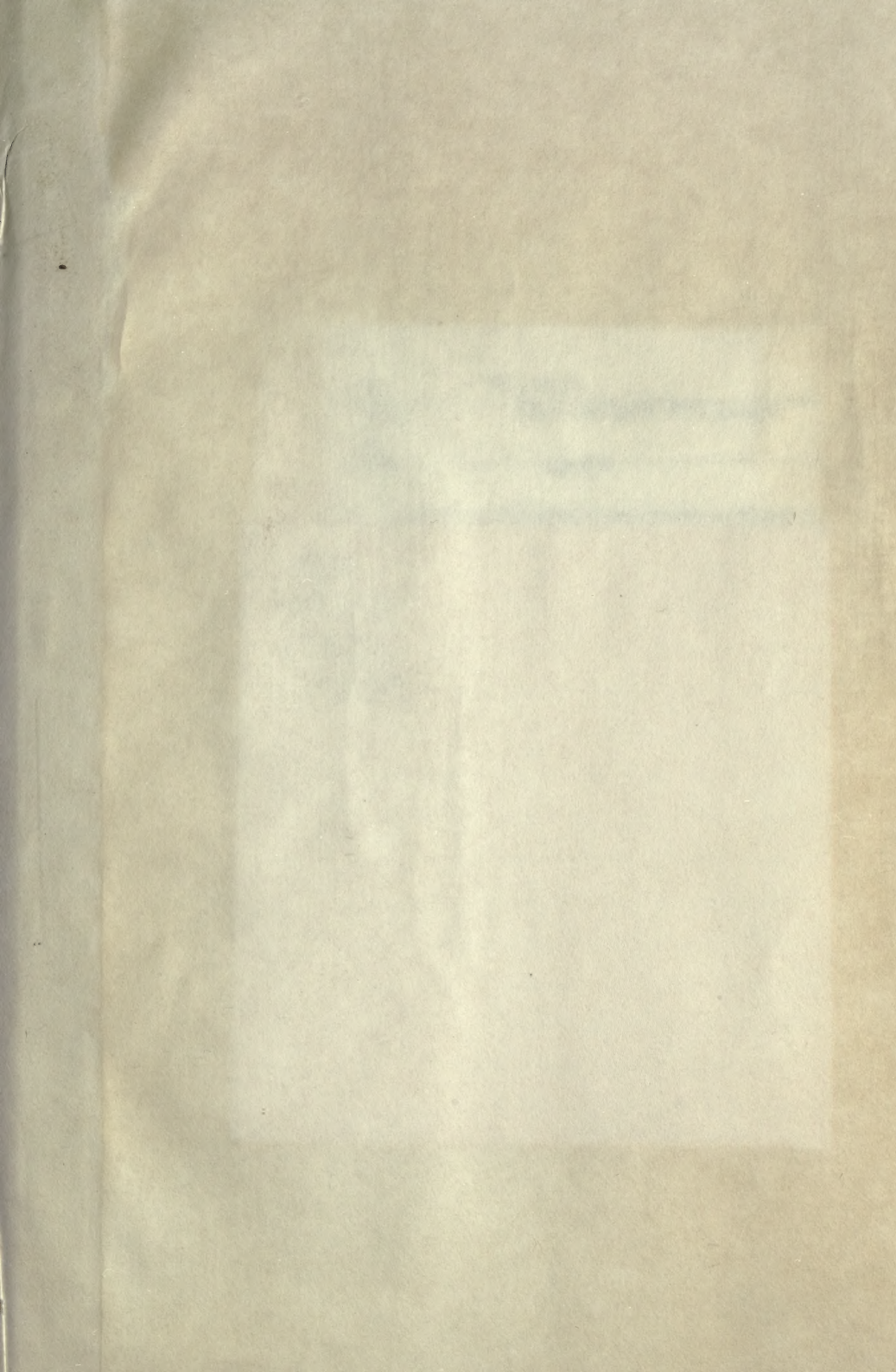
In the first place, then, the Movement failed in its primary object of raising the English Church to a sense of its sacred character as a Church, and of the consequent necessity of its independence of State control. The spirit of Liberalism and of Erastianism has undoubtedly come forth from the struggle triumphant. Anglicanism has found it easier to accept a non-Christian tribunal, a Parliament without Christian tests, as the ultimate court of appeal in matters of doctrine, rather than spiritual independence. Certain points of Catholic doctrine

and practice have spread and even become popular ; but they are held and taught by individuals, not as authoritative, but rather as tolerated by the Church's comprehensiveness, and at the cost of the loss of general sensitiveness to all dogma. Thus, whilst the inner spirit of the Anglican Church has remained unaffected and unchanged, the tone of teaching and worship, as practised by many in her Communion, has been decidedly elevated by the influence of the Movement. To it is due the restoration and adornment of frequent service, the revival of frequent partaking of the Sacrament. She has been awakened also to a sense of the need of a higher standard of religious training for her clergy. The study of sacred and religious literature—first Anglican, then patristic, then mediæval and scholastic, and, finally, even Catholic—has been revived. Sisterhoods of zealous women have been established, and the more difficult question of Communities of men has lately been approached. Some in her midst have even thought of reunion with Rome ; and a Confraternity of prayer and active work for that object called the "Order of Corporate Reunion," has been established. Perhaps the most evident effect of the Movement on the Anglican Church, as well as on other religious denominations, is seen in the revival of a spirit of sacrifice and beauty in all that pertains to Divine service. The labours of the ages of Faith have once more come to be appreciated. The grace of the pointed arch (God's chosen form for every leaf that blows), the richness of clustered shafts, the airiness of vaulted roofs, the deep glory of the painted window, have once more been brought together in the building of God's house in the revival of that ancient Gothic style of architecture "which, probably," says Cardinal Newman, "the Church will not see surpassed till it attains the celestial city." The old Minsters have been restored, the demolition of the Abbeys stopped ; churches and schools have been multiplied ; services brightened and elevated ; even the conventicle of the Nonconformists has

put on the outward semblance of a Church under the influence of the awakened taste, and in the effort to gather and keep its members.

Over and above benefits such as these, the Catholic Church in these islands has reaped rich fruit from the Movement. It has given her a multitude of converts, pious, learned, and enthusiastic—both clerical and lay. To it she owes the two dead Cardinals, whose glory is as wide as her own universality. To them and to all those others, and to the inner workings of the principles of the Movement in the great heart of Britain, is she indebted, in God's providence, for the breaking down of prejudice, and for the better feelings, born of fuller knowledge, that are clearing the way for her further progress.





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